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ELEVEN SENTENCED ... TWENTY-TWO ARRESTED

Waiting for Carter at the White House gate on February 12. Photo by Dorothy Marder

The Sentencing of the White House Lawn 11

By Grace Hedemann

People began arriving at 8:30 A.M. outside Courtroom 24 in the District of Columbia Superior Court Building. By 9:30 A.M. there were 200 people in the halls with press, relatives of defendants, and supporters trying to gain entry. The previous week Judge Donald Smith had refused a request by the attorney to move the sentencing to a larger courtroom. In fact room 24 could only seat fifty people. Slowly, the marshals allowed people to enter the room, including the defendants. The White House Lawn Eleven sat in the jury seats. But

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Demonstration and Arrests on February 12

By Sybil Claiborne

The trial is over and nobody has gone to jail. The White House Lawn 11 found guilty of unlawful entry on December 12 following a seven-day, jury trial, were sentenced on February 12th, Lincoln's birthday.

Immediately after the sentencing, several people stood up in the courtroom and unfurled the banner that had been confiscated in Moscow, they walked with the banner along the corridors and down the stairs of the courthouse, everyone chanting, "No more nukes."

It was snowing outside. The demonstrators walked to Lafayette Park across from the White House, a distance of about a mile and a half, wearing signs and leafletting along the way. In the park, people signed the banner and had the opportunity to speak, to give voice to their concerns, their outrage at the arms race and the proliferation of nuclear weapons, their determination to continue the struggle.

The cold raw weather began to penetrate by the time the demonstrators moved across the street to the White House. While hundreds picketed, 22 people (including WRL staff members David McReynolds, Steve Sumerford and Jim Peck) sat down in front of the White House gates, and as the minutes passed, the sitting figures became white with falling snow.

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when Nixon-appointed Judge Smith heard of this, he sent word to the marshals that the defendants must move to the gallery, thus forcing eleven more people out of the courtroom. People were outraged. Mary McGrory, *Washington Star* syndicated columnist, said, "What about the press!" The marshal repeated that eleven people must leave the room. Even press were forced to leave.

Finally around 10:15 A.M. Judge Smith entered the courtroom. Each defendant had been charged, tried, and found guilty individually. They would be sentenced individually. They could receive a maximum of $100 fine and six months in jail. It had been assumed the eleven would be sentenced alphabetically. The first name was called...Warren Hoskins. At that point the audience thought the Judge would call defendants in the order of severity of sentence with the least severe first. As it turned out, there was no reason one person was called before another. The Judge slowly dealt out the sentences after lengthy conversations with each defendant.

Judge Smith opened the proceedings with a few remarks about his mail concerning the case and the amount of publicity it had received. He noted that this was a free country where legal demonstrations with permits were allowed. He was amazed and troubled that the prosecution of the case had been interpreted as repressive. At one point during the sentencing, the Judge referred to the prosecution's claim that the banner unfurling had been a possible diversionary tactic for terrorists to attack the White House Building. Grace Paley noted, "Then the police should have been in the White House."

Since the guilty verdict on December 12, 1978, Judge Smith had reviewed police, FBI, probation officers' files as well as personal references on each defendant. Each defendant was given a $100 fine or 90 days in jail, plus an unsupervised probation of two years (Cathy Carson, Karen Malpede, Gail Bederman) or three years (Warren Hoskins, Van Zwisohn, Linnea Lacefield, Ralph DiGia, Glenn Pontier, Ed Hedemann, Karl Bissinger, Grace Paley). The Judge made special note that if any defendant broke their probation by getting arrested in the District of Columbia during that period, s/he would go to jail for 180 days!

Inside Courtroom 24, immediately after sentencing. Photo by David McReynolds.

Then eight WRL members (Vicki Rovere, Virginia Eggelston, Jim Peck, Nora Lumley, Vera Williams, Steve Summerford, John Green, Catherine Synan) held up the NO NUCLEAR WEAPONS/NO NUCLEAR POWER USA OR USSR banner in the courtroom with press, relatives, and defendants looking on. It was beautiful—an affirmation that the sentences would not deter the banner from being raised again and again. After the sentences had already been reported to the crowd, the eight carried the banner raised high into the hall filled with supporters. Cheers were heard throughout the corridors as the police in line formation forced all to leave the courthouse. The banner led the group into the snow and onto Lafayette Park.

When the court reconvened at 2 P.M., Judge Smith announced his denial to grant a stay of sentence, meaning the eleven defendants had to pay the $100 fine or go to jail immediately to begin the 90 day sentence in D.C. jail. Again each defendant was called in front of the Judge individually. Ten out of the eleven defendants paid the fine. The eleventh, Ed Hedemann, refused to pay the fine. The prosecutor, Kenneth Reisler, was visibly startled and upset. Ed felt the White House Lawn Eleven had been arrested, charged, and prosecuted not for stepping on the grass but for advocating disarmament. Besides refusing to pay on priciple, he felt that three months was not an impossible time to spend in jail for disarmament, and in this way he could maximize his impact against the system. Not long after his removal from the courtroom, someone spoke up saying he wanted to pay Ed's fine. The Judge accepted that payment. Some other defendants shared Ed's feelings, but for personal reasons could not spend time in jail. All eleven were reunited by 2:45 P.M. The White House Lawn demonstration, indeed, had gone far beyond the range of the White House.

Each defendant prior to sentencing was allowed to make a statement. The attorneys stood with them (James Klimaski, Kathleen Johnson, David Rein) but only noted appeals, and requests to stay sentencing. The defendants were allowed to stay in the courtroom after their sentence had been given. The Judge asked each if they had any plans to demonstrate illegally in Washington again. Each defendant said at present they had no plans but could not make promises about the future. Each talked about why they had participated in the demonstration. Warren said, "When I walked onto the lawn, it was a religious statement." Cathy felt the demonstration was "her hope

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They sat there waiting for an answer from the President to a letter sent earlier that week asking how the increased military budget of 124 billion expressed his campaign dream of "eliminating nuclear weapons from the face of the earth."

The President didn't appear but after about twenty minutes, the paddy wagons did, and one by one, some walking, others carried, they were taken away. When the frozen demonstrators broke for lunch, it was about 2:30 pm.

At 4:30 when the buses were loading up to return to New York, the 22 had already been released after being charged with disorderly conduct and paying a ten dollar fine, (except for 4 who decided not to forfeit their collateral and who'll be arraigned on April 4). This was a mere slap on the wrist compared to the unlawful entry charge levelled against the White House Lawn 11. One can only conclude that the crowds in court, the many letters addressed to the judge, the publicity had had a chilling effect on the government.

The hundreds of people who came to Washington for the sentencing and demonstration did not just happen. It was the culmination of a lot of work by a lot of people—the WRL staff, Gail Bederman, one of the defendants who coordinated the Washington action, Susan Jaffe and Kathy Engel who together organized the New York reading and countless others.

Going back to the beginning, on September 4th when the White House Lawn 11 and the Moscow seven unfurled their banners, the story was reported around the country, but because of a newspaper strike, there was no coverage in New York. So while the event received some publicity, it might by now have been forgotten beyond the WRL community had the government not decided to level such a heavy charge against the eleven.

It was this outrageous charge that began to generate support. First, from our own people and then from other anti-war, anti-nuke groups. Because one of the defendants, Grace Paley, is a well-known writer and a vice-president in P.E.N., that organization became involved, seeing the trial as an attack on freedom of expression, a concern P.E.N. frequently expresses for writers in repressive countries around the world.

The march from the courthouse to Lafayette Park. Photo by David McReynolds

During the trial in Washington, members of P.E.N. along with people from WRL and other organizations, and faculty and students from Sarah Lawrence attended a seven-day vigil at Federal Plaza.

The guilty verdict increased support. People began to send money, for the defense, address letters to the judge. In Boston, a reading organized by Boston women's groups and Boston Mobe brought out an overflow crowd to historic Arlington Street Church to hear Marge Piercy, Denise Levertov, Karen Lindsey and Grace Paley. Hundreds more attended a reading in New York where Donald Barthelme, Cynthia MacDonald, Kenneth Koch and other literary figures read from their works. Jane Cooper contributed "Threads" a poem based on Rosa Luxenburg's letters and available from WRL for $2.00 and 50¢ postage. Stories began to come out in newspapers. Grace Paley appeared on the Dick Cavett show. More than 40 organizations endorsed the February 12th demonstration in Washington.

The day before the sentencing in Washington, hundreds of people, including Bella Abzug, Congressman Ted Weiss and the On The Lam Street Band jammed into Washington Square Church for a rally and sendoff.

Although no single demonstration, vigil or act of civil disobedience ended the Vietnam War, certain events (the early burning of draft card, the trials of resisters, Mayday) took on an historical importance because they pitted the individual against the might of the state with a clarity and drama that moved people and enlisted them in the cause.

The September 4th action in

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The "send-off" rally at Washington Square Church. Starting at the left are Van Zwisohn, Ralph DiGia, Linnea Lacefield, Grace Paley, Gail Bederman, Bella Abzug, Ted Weiss, Cathy Carson, and Karen Malpede hiding Karl Bissinger. Photo by David McReynolds.

Iran, Cambodia, Vietnam, China: An Analysis

By David McReynolds

When we planned this issue of WRL News, I had a set of clippings on my desk around which I'd hoped to build a kind of "random analysis." There was material on the opposition of the Polish and Rumanian governments to Soviet demands for greater military spending on the Warsaw Pact—a healthy sign that the Soviet Pentagon, like our own, was facing open resistance. And there was material clipped from the *Times* which helped refute the theory of monolithic and totalitarian Communism. I was fascinated at reports from Moscow that Roy A. Medvedev, the Marxist dissident, had agreed to run in a "contested election" for the Supreme Soviet, challenging the official slate. Later reports from Moscow were discouraging—Medvedev had been ruled off the ballot on technical grounds—but here was a tentative beginning toward some form of "multi-tendency" politics.

At the same time we had reports of the wall posters in China calling for actual political freedom. That the concept of political freedom had survived thirty years of rule by teh Chinese Communist Party suggested that 1984 may be more distant than Orwell had thought, and that the desire for freedom may be as deep as some of us had dared hope.

And I thought Gen. Haig worth at least a little note—this is the man who was the President of the United States during the final months that Nixon was in the White House and who was then shifted to Europe to head NATO. He has now resigned his military post and returned home. Does he want to be President again, this time in a more legal way?

There was the wonderful story about the $30,000,000 worth of "fallout-shelter crackers" New York City wanted to destroy because they had been stored so long they were not safe to eat. The problem was that no one was really sure where the crackers were—they had been put in fallout shelters and the fallout shelters had been forgotten and now the health department is worried that in the event of nuclear attack someone might eat some of the spoiled crackers and get ill.

The February 15 issue of the New York *Times* had a nice little report buried on page 15. It seems that in the spring of 1953 some four thousand three hundred (4,300) sheep died in Utah because they had been grazing downwind from the Nevada nuclear tests and absorbed too much radiation. The Public Health Service did have some thoughts (in 1979 and on page 15) whether perhaps, if 4,300 sheep had been killed by fallout (and there was no question the fallout had done it), there might not have been *some* damage to people living in the same area. Utah is not a state that elects radicals to high office and it was thus with understated caution that Governor Matheson said, in regard to the Public Health Service report "...the sheep happened to be in the same area where there were, at the time, numbers of people. And we have to assume that the exposure on one was also an exposure on the other." Yes, Governor, I think we do have to assume that.

Any of these items, from Moscow to Utah, would have been material for a whole column. But two monumental events, not directly related except that they occured in the same two month period, demand attention. One is Iran. The other, the turmoil in Indochina.

An Islamic Republic is coming to birth in the ashes of what has been an American client state, ruled by a man chosen and installed by the CIA. The Shah of Shahs is gone, the Peacock Throne shorn of its splendor. There are the following points to be made (among many points, for which we lack space and I lack the insight—let me stick to the points I understand!)

First, the revolution was nonviolent. The Iranian people lacked affinity groups and nonviolent training sessions and they died by the hundreds and by the thousands. They did not think of themselves as pacifists. But they heard the call of the Ayatollah Khomeini and they came into the streets, day after day, and they came with no guns in their hands, they came against the troops who machinegunned them until the troops themselves refused to shoot. Blood ran in the streets, but in the end the Shah fell.

The Iranian government was no ordinary one. It was among the most heavily armed in the world. And behind those modern weapons stood SAVAK—one of the most feared and detested of all secret police, more brutal than either the KGB or CIA. I ask my fellow pacifists to see what a heavy price radical social change may demand—which of us would have the courage to walk into the guns? And we, as pacifists, have a right to ask the "orthodox Marxist-Leninists" who tell us change can only come through armed struggle to look at

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Moscow and Washington seems to be having such an effect. It has generated a lot of support; it has mobilized people, brought hundreds of them into the cold to demonstrate their anxiety and outrage over the proliferation of nuclear weapons. It has led to 22 new arrests at the White House.

To maintain that energy, nurture it, fuel it is the work that lies ahead, until the hundreds become thousands and then millions and our government finds it impossible to continue the arms race and the banner NO NUCLEAR WEAPONS, NO NUCLEAR POWER, USA OR USSR becomes a reality.

Sybil Claiborne is a member of the WRL Executive and Steering Committees.

Demonstration Planned To Stop The Olympic Prison

Opponents of the Justice Department's plan to open a federal prison on the site of the 1980 Winter Olympics in Lake Placid, New York, will gather in Washington, D.C., on May 3.

Stop The Olympic Prison (STOP), co-sponsored by the New York and National Moratorium on Prison Construction, has been spearheading the effort to dump the plan which would convert an Olympic athlete's housing facility into cages for minority youth.

For further information on plans, times, possible chartered buses, etc., contact Steve Angell, National Moratorium on Prison Construction, 324 C Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (202-547-3633).

Iran. (And the fighting—armed struggle—now going on between various factions must not detract from the great historic moment when defenseless crowds—referred to in the Western press as "fanatical mobs"—drove the Shah of Iran into permanent exile).

There is a second lesson. Revolutions, when they come, do not send invitations, they cannot be predicted, they defy our fears and confirm our deepest hopes that no oppression can last forever. Everyone (except President Carter and the CIA) knew the Shah was hated by his own people. But hatred does not become revolution. Only after the event can we explain to ourselves how it happened—just as only after Rosa Parks sat down in the "wrong" part of the bus in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955 could we understand how that "inevitably" led to the great movement led by King. And so let us remember to have some humility. The moment of deepest social change is never known in advance. There are long moments in history when darkness seems endless. Yet the dawn is always coming and when it comes, it is with no warning.

Cambodia/China/Vietnam/The Soviet Union

A remarkable series of actions and counter-actions have taken place in Indochina. Kampuchea (formerly Cambodia) has been an area of mystery and concern since its Revolution in 1975. There have been wide spread charges of massive killings—but the charges have been virtually impossible to document because, until recently, Kampuchea was off limits to any outsiders. There is fairly good evidence that Kampuchea had launched a sharp attack on Vietnam last year and it is certain from the reports on both sides that border incidents were occuring regularly. What no one had expected was the massive invasion of Kampuchea by Vietnam, an invasion that toppled the Pol Pot regime. Hanoi announced that Kampuchea had been "liberated" by insurgent Kampucheans and has consistently denied its own forces were involved. Hanoi also charged that the Pol Pot regime had murdered hundreds of thousands of its own people.

There are those who feel Vietnam, alone of all governments, can do no wrong and for those people, if Vietnam denied any direct involvement, it was not involved. For myself, it seems abundantly clear that Vietnam was guilty of massive aggression against its neighbor, and it is necessary to demand the complete withdrawal of all Vietnamese forces. There are some concede Vietnamese forces were involved but argue that the Pol Pot regime was so oppressive, the Vietnamese-backed invasion really was a liberation. This strikes me as the most dangerous kind of logic, and exactly the kind of thinking which got the U.S. involved in Indochina in the first place. ("Of course it is too bad the U.S. has troops here, but the side they are supporting is really better than the terrible Communists... our troops are really only giving democracy a chance"). We must learn that democracy does not advance on the tips of bayonets, even when the bayonets belong to the "good side."

Then in mid-February, after the new regime in Kampuchea seemed fairly secure (except for continuing guerilla war from the Pol Pot forces), China struck across the Northern border of Vietnam, invading six miles deep along a broad front. As this is written it seems the Chinese have ended their invasion and may be pulling their troops back—"having taught Vietnam a lesson," and having given the Chinese allies in Kampuchea a respite (since Vietnam is not in a position to fight on two fronts and will certainly have had to pull troops out of Kampuchea to send them back toward China.)

The situation was complicated by the fact the Vietnamese, in enforcing a harsher new economic policy, had caused considerable hardship to those Vietnamese of Chinese ethnic background, and thousands of such Vietnamese had fled North into China as refugees (and others had taken to the sea, swelling the number of "boat people.").

But just as one had to say that Vietanm should withdraw its forces from Kampuchea—that no "provocation" justified such mass intervention—so one must condemn China for this open invasion along its Southern front. The Chinese may have "taught Hanoi a lesson" but it was a lesson taught with the blood and the bodies of conscript troops on both sides and such lessons bring shame on those who teach them.

There are, at this writing, three things that stand out in my mind. The first is that the Soviet Union deserves enormous credit for not "teaching the Chinese a lesson" by attacking along the Siberian border. (I hope and pray that the Soviet Union has not taken military action between the time I write this and the time you read it!). If Soviet restraint continues it will be an impressive political fact in her favor.

Second, people who believe that socialism will solve everything, or "Marxism-Leninism" will answer all problems, need only look at three clearly non-capitalist states at war with each other. What we are watching is, I think, an expression of cultural and ethnic hostilities that existed before Marx wrote *Das Kapital.* Historicallyvietnam has nibbled at what is now called Kampuchea. And historically the Chinese have tried to dominated Vietnam. The current fighting suggests old hostilities survive. As a Marxist, I write this with regret. I wish I—or some ideology I believed in—had "all the answers." But I'm afraid we have to move through life engaged in an endless search for truth.

The final point is that anyone who still believes nations can be trusted with nuclear weapons should look at the mess now involving Kampuchea, Vietnam, and China. *If* you read this, *if* the planet has not been vaporized by nuclear war, it will be in large measure because in *this* case the Soviet government acted with restraint. I remarked earlier, on Iran, that revolutions cannot be predicted. Nor can human behavior—including wars. The nature of nuclear weapons is such that *no nation* can be trusted with them. In the games great powers play, individuals die. If the greater powers miscalculate, the human race dies. If three socialist states can find themselves in a military conflict, how much greater is the chance of such a conflict occuring between the capitalist West and the socialist world? The best that can be said of the tragedy of Indochina is that it proves again how like children governments are, and how little they can be trusted with guns—let alone nuclear weapons.

David McReynolds is a member of the WRL national staff.

Mideast Tour Report

By R. Scott Kennedy

Nonviolence in the Mid East appears as improbable as a kosher deli in Mecca.

But a recent delegation to the region encountered pacifists working on peace and justice issues, discovered a rich though scarcely recognized history of nonviolent direct action, and joined in active discussions of future use of nonviolence in resolving the conflict.

The month-long delegation, organized by Allan Solomonow of the Middle East Peace Project (339 Lafayette St., NYC 10012) travelled to Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Israel and the occupied territories of East Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Of the four pacifists on the tour, two were Jews, and three have long been active in the WRL. Others: Mary Appleman, WWWC in Chicago and Ken Giles of BRERA in Washington, D.C.

Pacifists in the Middle East

We made an effort to meet nonviolent activists in each of the countries. We were assured that nonviolence is a foreign concept to Islamic culture and we in fact were unable to find persons who characterized themselves as pacifists in the Arab countries.

However, among the two parties most centrally involved in the conflict—the Palestinians and the Israelis, we did find persons committed to nonviolence. To give an idea of who they are and their work, I'll introduce several to *WRL News* readers:

Joseph Abileah: A life-long pacifist who refused military service under the British in the 1940s and in every war fought by Israel. Abileah is familiar to many in the USA because of his frequent visits promoting a confederation for the Middle East, a possible political arrangement which has a fair measure of support, especially among Palestinians. Abileah's life-work is based on certain convictions familiar to pacifists: "My rights are not superior to the rights of my Arab brothers"; "I am looking for political solutions without the backing of the military"; the nation-state structure must be challenged and an alternative to it found; nonviolence can be applied to correct the causes of war; and, "I don't think I need to see the fruits of my work in my lifetime." (Joseph Abileah, 55A Hillel St., Haifa, Israel).

Fr. Eliya Khoury is an Episcopal priest and member of the Palestine National Council currently serving as Archdeacon of Jordon. Khoury was a priest in Ramallah in the West Bank when arrested by Israeli military authorities for speaking out against the occupation. Held for two months, he eventually was deported after insisting that he be tried or released. He asserted the Palestinians' willingness, even eagerness, to co-exist with Israel in two parallel states, which may eventually federate or confederate. He attacked the circular reasoning which uses the excuse of "security" to justify occupation, which in turn requires more security forces. the violence committed in the name of security in the Mid East reveals it to be "the greatest fallacy that ever came into being." Khoury describes his ministry and the efforts of others as sowing the seeds of reconciliation and co-existence in the faith that the political situation may one day allow them to come to fruition. (Fr. Khoury, POB 598, Amman, Jordan).

Jesa' ajahu-Toma Sik at the age of 16 realized he was "a pacifist, a vegetarian and a cosmopolitan." A former Jew, Sik won the first High Court of Israel test case affirming his right to list no religion on his identification papers. An outspoken pacifist and tireless worker, Sik is now immersed in staffing the WRI section in Israel, counseling Israeli draft resisters (including his daughter and several Druze Arabs), promoting the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights as the basic constitution for Israel and any Palestinian state, defending the Bedouin of the Negev against seizure of their land by Israel, and the movement for civil rights and secularism in Israel. (SIK, POB 20178, Tel Aviv/Jaffa, Israel).

Fr. Elias Chakour is an Israeli Palestinian and Greek Catholic priest. Chakour is one of those involved in the nonviolent campaign to win the villagers of Biram and Ikrit the right to return to their homes confiscated by Israel during the 1948 war. He is involved in a constructive program to build community centers and libraries in the Arab villages of Western Galilee so that Arabs can enter in relationship with jews as equals. He is also working on a center to document and make public examples of nonviolent direct action in the Mid East, "to give a very modest tone that there are alternatives to violence." An impassioned spokesman for the Jew as well as the Palestinian, Chakour remarked, "I never believed in terrorism and violence being done by revolutionary groups or by a world government or parliament. Whenever a man is killed or a Jewish child becomes an orphan, you cannot console his widow by killing a hundred Arabs. Are we allowed to apply the same criteria when a Palestinian woman loses her husband in a refugee camp, killed not by terror but by retaliation? I prefer my blood to be shed than to shed the blood of another person. . . I would never attack any person, even if I am right."

Nonviolent Direct Action

Space does not permit a detailed account of nonviolent direct action in the Mid East. But a few comments from our experiences are in order.

Given the nature and "success" of Israel's military occupation, it is remarkable that Palestinians have risked house-arrest, administrative detention, imprisonment, torture, or deportation by undertaking a number of creative and courageous nonviolent actions. We learned of stoppages, tax strikes, public demonstration, marches, fast, petitions, personal appeals, vigils, leafletting and picketing, printing and distributing of banned materials, and refusal to comply with various restrictions on travel or land use. While we were in Israel three Druze Arabs were imprisoned for refusing military service, a growing phenomenon in Israel.

Although the Palestinians (as Israeli Jews) tend to balk at the suggestion of nonviolent action, the actions of a great number of Palestinians have been one of recent history's better examples of nonviolent better examples of nonviolent resistance. Hundreds of thousands of Palestinians have remained in refugee camp, refusing to take new homes as a continuing witness of their determination to have a home in their land. Others have refused

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BOOK NOTES

By Jim Peck

Two books and a pamphlet were instrumental in turning me against war when I was a teenager and making me resolve that, in the event of war, I would go to jail rather than join the Army. The two books were George Selde's *Blood Iron & Profits* and Frank Hanighen's *Merchants of Death*. The pamphlet was a Fortune Magazine reprint entitles "Arms And The Men." All three documented how, during World War I, Vickers-Armstrong of England, Schneider-Creusot of France and Krupp of Germany, sold arms indiscriminately to both sides—their sole motive being profit.

I haven't read another expose of this nature until the recent publication of *The Arms Bazaar* (available from WRL at $2.95). Its author is Anthony Sampson, who gave us *The Sovreign State of ITT* (which became one of the most popular books on our literature list) and *The Seven Sisters* (an expose of the oil monopoly). *The Arms Bazaar* is written in the same easy-reading style: I couldn't put it down.

It opens with Sampson's account of his visit to a Washington exposition similar to the Arms Bazaar in Washington which some 200 of us picketed on October 16 (see my story in the Nov.-Dec. 1978 *WRL News*). Then he traces the history of the big arms business from its start and takes it into the present, with emphasis on Lockheed ("the world's biggest arms company") and Northrop. Today, he points out, the top arms producers no longer are located in England, France and Germany, but here in the U.S.—around Los Angeles, which has become "the arms capital of the world," the center of the aerospace industry.

Yes, we can be "proud" that today, the U.S. is number one arms salesman. Sampson says the U.S. "is responsible for half the world's arms trade." Armaments is for the U.S. what oil is for the middle-east.

Another basic change is that the top arms salesmem no longer are civilian wheeler-dealers, but government men. Relating this change in the U.S. under the Kennedy administration, with the ever-smiling Robert McNamara as defense secretary, Sampson writes: "A task force...decided to set up a special group inside the Pentagon. It was given a name which was a masterpiece of Pentagon newspeak: International Logistics Negotiations. (The agency's name has since been changed to DSAA. Sampson comments in parentheses "the change of names, as for rat catchers or lavatory attendants, suggests someembarrassment").But the ILN was really unashamedly *an organization for selling arms* (emphasis mine). At the head of this office was appointed Henry Kuss himself, who left no doubt about his purpose. He soon became a legend in Washington and the European capitals with his bulldozing methods, his big shape and bonhomie, his missionary style. Like all great salesmen, like Zaharoff, Craven and Krupp (the notorious civilian arms salesmen of the past), he saw no basic difference between weapons and any other goods; and from his authority in government he elevated arms sales into a special crusade, so that NOT to sell arms was almost a crime."

When you think of Lockheed, you think of bribery, recalling the big scandals in Holland and Japan. The book deals extensively with this subject and notes that bribery has the approval of the Pentagon. On the subject Sampson writes: "The Americans, trying to outdo the Europeans at their own game, had begun to institutionalize it, substituting for "tact and diplomacy" an elaborate organization, with separate companies and fixed routines, so that bribery began to become a subsidiary industry, itself, with its own built-in incentives."

In a chapter entitled "The Arming of The Shah," Sampson gives a striking statistic on the extent of U.S. arms sales. Of U.S. sales in 1974, nearly half, or $3.9 billion, went to Iran.

Regarding sales to third world countries, Sampson writes: "As more countries achieved independence, the big powers were better able to play them against each other, as Zaharoff had done 50 years earlier."

Early-on, in a chapter headed "The Toys of Death," Sampson quotes Sam Cummings, international wheeler-dealer in arms: "The arms business is founded on human folly. That is why its depth will never be plumbed, and why it will go on for ever. All weapons are 'defensive' and all spare parts are 'non-lethal.'"

Sampson comments: "Only once did an executive, the president of a big arms company, break out of the conventional neutralized language and said: 'I wish to God we could stop the whole business of arms sales.'"

The Arms Bazaar is a MUST for anybody seriously interested in the question of war and peace.

Jim Peck is WRL News editor.

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to appeal to reason." Karen talked about "the responsibility to show form to a belief in a peaceful world." Linnea mentioned her care for her patients as a physician and for the human race by participation in the demonstration. Gail said, "When I see grown men playing with forces that threaten all life on earth, I have an obligation to stop them nonviolently." Van quoted the WRL Statement of Purpose. Ralph noted previous demonstrations by Americans during the other decades in the Soviet Union, and throughout Europe appealing to the people of the world to stop the arms race and to disarm. Glenn referred to a well known statement, "Where there is no vision, people will perish." Ed remarked, "I think from time to time you must break laws that are bad, like during the civil rights movement." Karl did not make a statement but responded to Judge Smith's comment that everyone could demonstrate legally on the sidewalk in front of the White House. Karl said, "I could have stood in front of the White House for the rest of my life and nothing would have happened." Grace talked about the simultaneous aspect of the White House and Mosow demonstrations. She said, "We wanted to get beyond the range of our own voices. We tried to do the quietest, gentlest thing possible. The police made the demonstration disruptive. We could have been left to stand there." The proceedings ended by 11:30 A.M. with defendants having to return at 2 P.M. to learn if the Judge would stay their sentences until the appeals had been heard.

Grace Hedemann is a member of the WRL National staff and coordinated press for the February 12 events.

The Draft Makes A Comeback

Compulsory registration plus the draft or civilian service seems to be a real possibility this year. Though the President has the authority to register men, he has not done so.

At least five draft bills and two compulsory service bills have just been or will be introduced in Congress to force the President to begin registration and induction. Secretary of Defense Harold Brown told the House Armed Services Committee on January 29 that any new draft legislation should be applied to women as well as men.

The following is a quick summary of the bills:

H.R. 23 The Military Registration and Mobilization Assessment Act of 1979. Introduced by Charles Bennett (D-FL) on January 15. Calls for registration of men by October 1, 1979. This bill would also require the Privacy Act to be amended to allow the Selective Service System to have access to age and address information in the records of any school or government agency for the purposes of conductiong registration.

S. 226 Senate version of H.R. 23. Introduced by Robert Morgan (D-NC) on January 25. Basically the same as the House version, but with a few minor deletions.

S. 109 The Byrd-Nunn Bill. Introduced by Harry Byrd (I-VA) and Sam Nunn (D-GA) on January 23. This bill requires reinstatement of registration 4 months after enactment.

H.R. 1901 The Montgomery Draft Bill. Introduced by G.V. Montgomery (D-MS) on February 8. Calls for registration of all men and women at 18, and the induction of up to 200,000 men into the ready reserve.

H.R. 2078 The Wilson Bill. Introduced by Charles Wilson (D-TX) on February 8. Calls for induction of men to begin on July 1, 1979.

National Service Act. To be introduced by Paul McCloskey (R-CA). Calls for registration of all men and women between 17 and 26. They could choose between 2 years military with educational benefits or 1 year civilian service with fewer benefits. If they choose neither, then they would be subject to a military draft.

The Cavanaugh Bill. To be introduced by John Cavanaugh (D-NE). Would require all men and women to register before they turn 18. Then during any 6-months of their choice (between 18 and 26) they would be subject to a lottery, which would require military or civilian service.

Those who are concerned should take appropriate action with their Congressional representatives.

War Resisters' International Triennial

August 12-19 are the dates of the WRI Triennial to be held in Sondenborg, Denmark, which is near the German border. The theme of the conference will be "Towards Liberation," which will include sexual, racial, and class liberation. Start saving now. More details later.

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"compensation for land they believe has been illegally taken from them by Israeli authorities.

In conversations with the PLO we learned that Palestinians are actively considering a number of nonviolent actions, including a march by refugees to the Israeli border or an Exodus-like "ship of return" of Palestinian refugees to the shores of Israel.

Thankfully, some Israeli Jews are also open to nonviolent direct-action. Some soldiers refuse to serve across the "green line" in the occupied territories, and a few refuse any service whatsoever. The "Peace Now" movement had a demonstration of 100,000 Israelis (a comparaby sized demonstration is the USA would number 7½ million people!) in late August which, many believe, moved Begin to accept the accords negotiated at Camp David. In this one dramatic action they passed a letter demanding peace from hand to hand from Jerusalem to Tel Aviv. "Peace Now" is preparing a civil disobedience to block construction of new Jewish settlements planned in the occupied territories.

We frankly were disappointed that there were not more Israeli direct-actions or public demonstrations of opposition to the occupation, land expropriation or settlement policies of the government.

Such nonviolent activism may be in an embryonic stage. It is definitely significant because the law of diminishing returns is becoming evident in the use of nonviolence by all peoples in the region. Alternative methods of conflict-resolution are desperately needed.

It is especially important that such efforts receive the full support of nonviolent activists from the USA and elsewhere. Specifically, those of us who have just returned from the Mid East would like to ask two things: 1) Would you join in a nonviolent action in the Mid East, asserting the right of the Palestinians to a national homeland co-existing with Israel, or in opposition to Israeli occupation and settlement policies? And, would you help organize support in the USA for such actions? If so, please contact the Middle East Peace Project, c/o WRL. 2) Will you write to the four individuals above expressing concern and support for their efforts. Thanks.

Scott Kennedy works with the Resource Center for Nonviolence in Santa Cruz.